7 Post-communist and queer

Eastern European queer migrants on screen

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Introduction: *God's Own Country* – whose fantasy?

In 2017, a utopia of multiculturalism, equality, and sexual freedom was born – at least on the screens of cinemas with the success of Francis Lee's *God's Own Country* (2017, UK). The love of a British farmer boy, Johnny, and Eastern European (Romanian) migrant worker, Gheorghe, culminated in a queer happy ending that fulfilled not only the dreams of Western viewers about the romanticised, orientalist Eastern European other, but also the imaginations of the Eastern European (queer) migrant about the West as a liberal utopia where personal happiness, fulfilment, and acceptance are possible unlike in their 'dead'¹ post-communist, heteronormative motherlands. With a romantically dramatic narrative providing the viewer with some sweetly weepy moments and a tearful happily ever after, *God's Own Country* does not fail to reflect on crucial issues of othering, silencing, marginalisation, oppression, repression and heteronormativity. Happiness for the 'strapping lads' (0:58:45) would be granted after having fought their battle against racial, ethnic, cultural, sexual and spatial stereotypes, survived the hardships of coming out, and achieved the affective reinterpretation and reclaiming of social institutions.

Upon seeing Eastern and Western Europe embracing in this queer union, the researcher (and queer post-socialist subject) might be tempted to lay back with a happy tear in their eyes thinking all is well. However, we must ask the uncomfortable question: whose fantasy exactly is fulfilled in *God's Own Country*? Is it not just too good to be true? Is it not just a postcolonial fantasy about the eroticised and orientalist Eastern European, who – this time with a queer twist – sucks cock instead of blood and revitalises the petrified heterosexual environment, that is, the spatial and cultural context around him? After all,

the East, for many writers in Britain today, is a space not only to be re-discovered, but also a mirrorspace that helps the West to complement and destabilise its conceptions about itself, its stereotypes about the East, and its ideas about Europe and the European cultural heritage.

(Korte 2010: 4)

But we should refrain from condemning only Western fantasies about the East and themselves, as *God's Own Country* – especially if viewed by an Eastern European dreaming about Western queer happiness – reflects (maybe unintentionally) on the cultural imaginations of the West in Eastern European public discourse, in which ‘the West is consciously construed as the significant “Other,” a role model and a desired destination’ (Stojanova 2017: 19). Imagining, idealising the West as a dreamland is Eastern Europe’s cultural heritage from the past spent behind the Iron Curtain; when ‘the West – sealed off by the iron curtain and mine blockade – was presumed to be an idealised space in the region dominated by Moscow’ (Sághy 2015: 242).² *God's Own Country* fulfils the Eastern fantasies of the West as a liberal, open, welcoming culture. Against all odds (racism, rundown farm, emotional turmoil) the queer Eastern European migrant finds a place and creates a home in the heart of the Western dreamland.

West-bound migration, as being a central social issue, has also occupied much attention in Eastern European cinema, but it was after the regime change that the experiences of emigration could reach the screen in larger numbers (see Király 2015: 170). The fall of the Iron Curtain made the long-desired journeys to the West possible. Yet at the same time ‘the real border-crossings and journeys after the fall of the iron curtain highlighted the split between the imagination and the actual experience of the West’ (Sághy 2015: 242). More than a decade later, the accession of several Eastern European countries to the European Union opened the borders towards the much desired West even further. However,

[i]ronically from the perspective of the Eastern European citizen, the West that we ‘got’ is no longer that West that we wanted to get to during state-socialism. Not only because it is a ‘real west’ . . . , but also because the ‘real west’ of the 2000s is also a place of economic and demographic crises, shrinking welfare functions, spreading Islamism and terrorism.

(Kalmár 2017: 21–2)

Although the possibilities of travelling, the opening up of borders after the regime change and the EU accession, and the actual experiences of the desired West, might have modified the images of the yearned-for cultural space causing serious disappointment, the Cold War’s bequest is still in force on both sides: ‘mental borders still divide the continent along the Cold War lines’ (Gott and Herzog 2015: 1).

When the migrant in question is a queer person, that is, belonging to a (sexual) minority group, the ‘usual’ fantasy of the West as a place of affluence, financial security, and abundance of possibilities is amplified by fantasies of sexual freedom, liberalism and tolerance (which is often reinforced by the Euro-sceptic conservative discourse, depicting the West as Sodom and

Gomorrhah). No matter, however, how rainbowy post-communist queer people imagine the West, as depicted in the films of West-bound queer migration analysed in this chapter, they cannot be exempt from the inevitable disappointment which stems from contrasting a fantasy with lived experience.

In what follows, I delineate how the unpreventable clash between imagination and encounter modifies the attitudes towards the 'Western queer utopia' (fulfilled by *God's Own Country*), which resonates with the transformation of (and disappointment in) the Western ideal in heterosexual narratives from the region.³ The films chosen for analysis are all from the Eastern European region, from a time period that stretches from the socialist period through the initial post-socialist euphoria, the disappointment that followed, including the mixed feelings around the EU accessions, to the hard blow and aftermath of the 2008 crisis. Although the stories and their foci differ highly from each other (as a result of local and temporal differences), queer Westward movement is an overarching motif, which implies the consistent importance of this issue and allows the representation – and analysis – of the changing perception of the queer migrants' destination.

Depending on the accessibility of the West, three attitudes can be distinguished in the representational strategies of queer-themed films from the region. The West appears as pure, unquestionable fantasy, when it is impossible to reach. The second attitude is brought about by what I call indirect meetings with the West: when certain characters who emigrated to the West visit their Eastern European homes temporarily, they become embodiments of the Western fantasy for those stuck in Eastern Europe. These films reflect on how the perfect image of the West is just a fairy tale, but – lacking actual experience – fail to deconstruct that daydream. It is only when the queer migrant reaches the West on the screen, and their experiences sharply contradict what they hoped for, that the authenticity and validity of the fantasy is questioned, and the sharp mental borders between the perfect West and East 'always "lagging behind"' (Blagojević 2009: 38) might be queered.

West as pure fantasy

Before we tackle the changing attitudes towards the Western wonderland and the representational strategies in depicting it, the question should be asked: what is the West? What exactly does this fantasy consist of? Where and when exactly should we look for this ideal space? One has to realise that the West (of the fantasy) is just as elusive as a dream(land) can be. In the following films, for some the West means authenticity and truthfulness, for others pure survival, and some characters long for it in the hope of better lives. Its fantastic nature as an idea(l) is reflected in its spatial uncertainty as well: in some films, it is simply the other side of a barbed-wired border; sometimes it is Germany,

the Netherlands, the US or Canada. Even its temporal attributes can be hard to entangle sometimes. As Robert Kulpa and Joanna Mizielińska summarise it:

‘West’ is a myriad constellation, floating in a time-space of individual perceptions and ‘CEE’ idealisations. It is at times synonymous with ‘Europe’, sometimes more precisely to ‘European Union’, sometimes ‘Western Europe’; it denotes ‘Europe and America’ or only ‘America’ . . . or ‘Anglo-America’. ‘West’ is ‘liberalism and progress’ . . . ‘a promise of freedom’, ‘El Dorado’ – a dreamland of colourful prosperity; ‘here’ and ‘there’, perhaps (t)here; ‘West’ was/is where ‘we’ (CEE) want to be. Finally, ‘West’ is a normative ideal of ‘how things should be’.

(Kulpa and Mizielińska 2011a: 22)

Maybe today, thirty years after the regime changes, ‘it is clear that Eastern Europeans had much distorted, idealised views of the West’ (Kalmár 2017: 12). However, as seen (imagined) from behind the Iron Curtain, without reference points, the fantasy of the perfect West could thrive. This uncontrasted view, without the possibility to gain real-life experience, dominates Károly Makk’s *Another Way* (1982, Hungary). The film itself focuses on the conditions within Hungary just after the 1956 revolution; and, by telling the tragic love story of two female journalists (one of whom is simply incapable of lying, compromising herself or historical, political and social facts), it draws a parallel between the repression of truth and the repression of sexual difference (Berta 2013: 57).

The aim of *Another Way* might be to talk about 1982 Hungary through a story set in the dubious and fearful period that followed the 1956 revolution; the film is literally framed by the fantasy of the West. The opening and closing images of *Another Way* represent a border guarded by heavily armed military personnel, watch towers, and barbed wire, which mark the place of the uncompromising lesbian journalist Éva Szalánczky’s failed attempt to escape Hungary. Although it is never stated openly that this is the Western border, where else would be worth risking (and eventually sacrificing) one’s life? Although visually (and geographically) there is not much difference between the two sides of the border, the symbolic contrast implies that this is a border between two lands worlds apart. Éva’s self-sacrifice and the camera’s yearning gaze across the border assure that the world beyond the barbed wire is a realm of fantasy.

The idea of the Western dreamland emerges in a central scene of the film as well. After a night of stolen glances and kisses in a café, we can see the two main characters, Éva and Livia, kissing in a snow-covered park. Their intimate bubble is interrupted by an intrusive and aggressive male voice. Two policemen show up and demand to see the women’s IDs, since ‘[being] involved in such a thing’ (0:37:06) goes against communist values. As Livia is the wife of a high-ranking military officer, they let her go, but Éva, the single and outspoken journalist, is criminalised and removed from public space. She reacts by questioning the policemen’s rights to treat her in such an abusive

way; the officer's condescending answer, 'We are not in America' (0:38:11), spells out the spatio-cultural imaginations underlying the Eastern European fantasy of the West. From the perspective of (communist) power, this remark signifies her behaviour as decadent, and relegates it to the space beyond the Iron Curtain, where deviant wildlings are acceptable. Even though we know for a fact that the US in 1982 was not a safe haven for the LGBTIQ+ community (see Chávez 2013: 1) – let alone the United States of 1958 prior to the Civil Rights Movements – from the queer woman's perspective the condemnation of the official discourse reinforces the fantasy of the West.

In isolation, the fantasy of the West can only be constructed through inference: the real West is unknown, but if this (Eastern Europe, Hungary) is not the West, then it must be just the opposite. These two components in the film attribute the fantasy of the West with rights, freedom, and truth. First, the policemen should not have the right to treat Éva abusively, but they do – so they would not be authorised to proceed in such a manner in the West. It would be her, the queer woman, who would possess basic human rights. Second, the barbed wire on the border marks the freedom lacking (of mobility, choice, sexuality, speech, etc.), so there must be a lack of barbed wires in the Western dreamland. Part of the opening and closing montage is a bird symbolically flying across the Iron Curtain – as opposed to Éva's motionless dead body – fortifying the freedom of the land beyond. Third, truth (be that sexual or political truth) being silenced in 1958 Hungary is a central issue of

Figure 7.1 Flying towards the imaginary West in *Another Way* (1982)

Source: *Another Way* (1982), directed by Károly Makk © Mafilm Dialog, and Connoisseur/Meridian Films.

the film. This silencing is a key motivating factor in Éva's attempt to escape. Lívia describes her death as follows: '[a] hero, who committed suicide. A martyr who went head-first into the barbed wire, because she couldn't bear the lies' (0:06:26). Following the previous logic, this means that the Western dreamland is a realm of authenticity and truthfulness, where facts are not distorted, opinions are not choked, and queerness is not a dangerous secret.

This 'pure' fantasy of the West (lacking any form of actual experience) resurfaces in later films as well, such as Dragan Marinković's *Take a Deep Breath* (2004, Serbia and Montenegro) and Ahmed Imamović's *Go West* (2005, Bosnia and Herzegovina), when, in theory, movement would be possible across the former Iron Curtain. As a result, such imaginations of the West cannot dominate whole films (like in *Another Way*), but only define the viewpoints of certain characters who, in fact, never actually reach the West.

Indirect encounters

The year 1989 saw the fall of the Berlin Wall, which was shortly after followed by regime changes that swept through the region, and the decades of communist regimes came to an end. The year 1989 brought about rapid and radical political, legal, and institutional transformations, but on a sociocultural level it was far from being a collective *tabula rasa* experience:

after the collapse of the socialist systems in Eastern Europe on the political and economic levels, socialism did not, as a social and cultural phenomenon, suddenly become vacant and replaced with entirely new practices.

(Jelača and Lugarić 2018: 5)

The fall of state socialism gave rise to parallel (and often exclusive) discourses: previously marginalised, oppressed voices complemented the rigid, old attitudes. To make this cacophony of discourses in the 1990s even more difficult to unravel, Kulpa and Mizielińska call attention to how even time became 'knotted' for the Eastern European region. What was experienced as the beginning of something completely new in the Eastern timeline was right in the middle of Western development:

the beginning of the 1990s . . . is truly a 'queer time': a time of mismatched models and realities, strategies and possibilities, understandings and uses, 'all at once'. It is the time when 'real' and 'fake', 'the original' and 'the copy' collapse into 'the same'/'the one'; and yet, nothing is the same, nothing is straight any more.

(Kulpa and Mizielińska 2011a: 16)

Hence, even though the demarcation between the socialist and post-socialist time and space tends to be viewed as a strict, straight line, an event of sudden

change, it should be interpreted as a long transition period, where the term 'transition' itself 'does contain numerous paradoxes, mostly related to the very idea of the concepts of change, transformation, and alteration, deeply embedded in its meaning' (Blagojević and Timotijević 2018: 72). In other words, the regime changes did not miracle away the socialist past and the mental borders that continued to haunt the line that used to be known as the Iron Curtain.

These entangled attitudes are reflected in the discourses and narratives about West-bound migration and in the fantasy of the West as well. Although the West continued (continues) to be a dream-destination for emigrants from the region, after the initial euphoria about a unified Europe and an accessible West, the transition period affected the perception of the West parallel to the disappointment that crept in during the 1990s. The fantasy of the West was met with disenchantment as well, and 'subsequent films about emigration became invariably darker' (Stojanova 2017: 21).

In terms of queer migration narratives, this modified attitude towards the West and emigration is represented by what I call indirect encounters. These encounters appear in films set after the fall of socialist regimes but prior to their respective countries' accession to the EU (if it happened at all), and they usually take place between a character temporarily returning from the West and one longing to go there. For the Eastern Europeans, the returning Easterner often turns into the embodiment of the fantasy characterising the West, the carrier of features attached to the imagined dreamland. In these narratives, the idea of the West is explicitly filtered through the idea of sexual liberation, as the returning characters bring back 'queerness'. However, a certain disconnectivity characterising these encounters questions the idealised image of the West. The motif of return in itself can be interpreted as an act of retreat, and, at the same time, it is remarkable that these returning characters can fit in neither here nor there: their relationships are dysfunctional and made more difficult by problems of communication.

In *Take a Deep Breath*, a character named Lana is the embodiment of the Western fantasy. Lana returns to Belgrade to tend to her brother, the young man who suffers a car accident with his girlfriend right before their planned emigration to Canada. She is a pretty, attractive woman, whose bohemian lifestyle as an artist (photographer) implies the Western possibilities of freedom of choice and self-expression; even her spectacular sports car conveys vibes of energy and development. For a brief moment, it seems that East and West can embrace each other: the two women – Sasha and Lana – fall in love. However, the interaction of Sasha's father highlights the problems lurking behind. The homophobic (latent homosexual?) judge – overstepping his legal limits – puts Lana into jail for a night, taking away every means of communication from her. Meanwhile, Sasha thinks that she cannot reach Lana because the young woman is cheating on her. When they meet in the morning, their encounter may be described as total miscommunication: Sasha is unable to ask the proper questions and Lana cannot (dares not) talk about

what happened to her. Shortly after that, she goes back to Paris, and her only words of goodbye are: '[i]t was a beautiful dream' (1:06:33).

The returning emigrant and a total failure of communication characterise also the 2012 film *Beyond the Hills* (Romania/France/Belgium) by Cristian Mungiu. The basic conflict of the film results from Alina's return from Germany with the explicit goal of taking her love, Voichita, with her. However, while Alina is working in Germany, Voichita is forced by circumstances (she turns eighteen and has to leave the orphanage they grew up in) to move into an Orthodox nunnery just to have some shelter. The temporal entanglement characterising the post-socialist space-time is most prominent in this film, as this medieval space lacks basically every aspect of modernity from technology to gender dynamics. *Beyond the Hills* differs from the other discussed films in its evaluation of the West, since Western ideals and values are seen by the Orthodox community as an abomination. The priest, acting as the 'father' of the nuns, summarises his opinion about the West:

I wouldn't go to the West. I'll tell you why: Western Europe deviated from the right path. Nothing is holy over there any more. Everything is permitted in the name of freedom. Man marries man, woman marries woman.

(0:10:45)

Figure 7.2 The embodiment of the desired West: Lana (Jelena Đokić) in *Take a Deep Breath* (2004)

Source: *Take a Deep Breath* (2004), directed by Dragan Marinković © Norga Investment Inc. and DV Solution.

Yet, the markers of the Western fantasy do not change, and Alina becomes their embodiment. Her behaviour patterns (seen as Western), such as sexual freedom, rapid decision making, overstepping boundaries, are not perceived as values but as deviances. The series of miscommunications between Alina and the closed, Orthodox community – her attempts to stir up the established dynamics of the nunnery by trying to revive her earlier relationship with Alina, breaking the strict religious rules, committing sacrilege unknowingly (she enters the church while on her period) – position her as queer in the old, pejorative sense from the perspective of the nuns, and trigger a course of tragic events. Her mood swings, strange behaviour and sexual attempts, which are partly symptoms of her untreated schizophrenia, are perceived as possession by the devil. As a result, the priest orders exorcism, and the series of purging, fasting, and ritualistic bondage result in Alina's death. With her, the unreflected fantasy of the West also dies, and the clash between the returning emigrant and those who stayed foreshadows the changing attitude towards the West.

Living the dream?

In Eastern European migration narratives, the most heartrending disillusionment regarding the Western dreamland surfaces after 2004, when several Eastern European countries joined the European Union. With that, the gates to the Western dreamland, which had been opened up with the fall of state socialism, seemed finally to crumble for good. However, by the time the Eastern European migrant could more or less easily reach the West (let us not forget the local differences as not the whole of Eastern Europe has been welcomed into the arms of the EU), '[p]rogress and development has given way to crisis, decline, struggle and disillusionment' (Kalmár 2017: 21). These processes became painfully prominent after the 2008 crisis, which affected both sides of the former Iron Curtain. History seems to have played a wry trick with the Eastern European fairy tale: when the West was already quite easily accessible for most, the former dreamland was nowhere near the standards of fantasy. (Had it ever been anything more than just fantasy?) Disappointment seems inevitable under such circumstances:

[b]eing on a dangerous journey, vulnerable to all sorts of exploitation, humiliation, and abuse is obviously a most critical condition, but arrival at one's destination and realizing that it is not the fantasy land that one imagined can be at least as frustrating and disheartening.

(Kalmár 2019: 66)

Yet, it seems that the inevitable disappointment in the fantasy of the West is more deeply rooted (and originates earlier), and the growing accessibility of the West after the EU accessions made it only more noticeable, as already

the 2005 *Go West* from Bosnia and Herzegovina (which has not become a member of the EU at the time of writing this chapter) depicts the disintegration of the fantasy once it is contrasted with experience. Despite the partial success of going West, the original fantasy of happily-ever-after (or at least alive-ever-after) is shattered by Milan's death in the war. Kenan, his partner, does survive, but barely. When he finally reaches the West, he is in a highly traumatised state. His body is most brutally mutilated just before he leaves his home country – he is violently castrated as a revenge for being gay – but his emotional, mental condition is just as fragile as his wounded body. The film opens and concludes with an interview with Kenan being made somewhere in the West, and while telling his tragic story (the film itself) he can be seen reaching for tranquilisers just to be able to speak.

This interview and the TV studio it is made in is how the West is portrayed, which reflects on the constructedness and mediatisation of the fantasy itself. Furthermore, the failed communication with the interviewer re-evaluates the dreams of the understanding and welcoming West. Although the oral communication is helped by translation, the deeper understanding between Western interviewer and Eastern interviewee fails. Kenan's most intimate way of communication is music (he is a cellist by profession), but his instrument also falls victim to the war. Nevertheless, he offers to play at the end of the interview. In the following breathtaking scene, he is portrayed playing on his nonexistent instrument, tapping the strings in the air. The viewer actually hears the melody in the form of extra-diegetic music. However, when he finishes, the interviewer says: 'I'm sorry, I don't want to disappoint you, but I didn't hear anything' (01:33:11). At this point maybe we should ask: can the Eastern European subaltern speak after all?

The 2014 Hungarian film *Land of Storms* by Ádám Császai depicts the frustration and disappointment experienced after the 2008 crisis, but it also reflects on the inherited fantasy of the West by displaying generational differences in attitude towards the dreamland. Its protagonist, Szabolcs, is encouraged (forced) by his father – who clearly belongs to the generation that grew up during the state socialist period, clinging on to the idea(l) of the West – to follow the ageing man's dreams and pursue a Western football career. The father's imagination is filled with stardom, fame, and luxury, which indicates his concept of the West as well. However, in the son's experience, the German football career consists of humiliation, exclusion, and failure – he cannot fit in or perform the way he is expected to. As Kalmár describes it:

[t]he German scenes in the beginning of the film are always without music, and there is always some kind of tension felt by Szabolcs as well as the spectator, which never lets either him or us enjoy these scenes as liberation or joyful self-fulfilment. There seems to be a lack of faith, dissatisfaction or disappointment in the kind of life offered by the West,

in cultural connectivity, in the Eastern European subject's satisfactory integration into the great projects of Western culture.

(Kalmár 2017: 21)

His experience contradicts his father's imagination, and he cannot identify with the older generation's dreams about a football career and the West in general. Instead of forcing himself into a position that is not his own, he goes home, tries to build his own life, and openly refuses the father's concepts.

Although he rejects the (post)socialist inheritance of the Western dreamland and dream life – as returners from the West in also non-queer Eastern European narratives very often do – he is no longer able to fit in the Hungarian context either, because he replaces the failed fantasy of the West with another fantasy of the East: he moves into a secluded corner of the Hungarian Great Plains believing that he could find authenticity, selfhood, and peace there. However, his developing gay relationship with a young villager puts him into conflict with the whole village; he is again humiliated, physically abused, and finally killed by his partner almost as an expiatory sacrifice for having transgressed the value system of the village. The father's dream about the West as a dreamland of success, fame, stardom, and the son's fantasy about the Hungarian village in the middle of nowhere as a space of development, clarity, and innocence are both just fantasies, disregarding

Figure 7.3 Shaming the misbehaving footballer: Szabolcs (András Sütő) in *Land of Storms* (2014)

Source: *Land of Storms* (2014), directed by Ádám Császi © Proton, and Kultúrbarlang (Hungary) (2015).

the sociocultural context of the spaces they fantasise about. As long as we approach spaces with fantasy-tainted sunglasses, the lived experience will hit us as if we were running into a brick wall.

Conclusion

Even if *Land of Storms* does not end on a positive note about rejecting the fantasy of the West, it does succeed – along with the other queer migration narratives analysed in this chapter – in highlighting the hazards and insecurities of thinking according to stereotypical fantasies, and in relativising the conceptions of East and West (Gott and Herzog 2015: 7). Through engaging the transforming attitudes towards the fantasy of the West, the films begin to queer the relationship between East and West: they ‘insist on the potentiality for other ways of living, other worlds, other types of relationalities’, which is how José Esteban Muñoz defines the essence of queerness – if it is not paradoxical to use the words ‘define,’ ‘essence’ and ‘queer’ in the same phrase – (Blagojević and Timotijević 2018: 78, referring to Muñoz). Even though Tomasz Zarycki warns about the danger of reinforcing certain inequalities ‘simply by an act of discussing them in public even through a critical perspective’ (Zarycki 2014: 8), I believe that neither the films nor talking about them in this chapter reinforce the West-East divide and the reign of positive-negative stereotypical binaries.

Having retraced the mutations in Eastern Europe’s public discourse about the fantastic West, the fairy tale-like happy ending of Johnny and Gheorghe in *God’s Own Country* does seem too good to be true. Although in Eastern European queer migrant narratives this type of happily-ever-after appears to be lost, is it not better to see – and set – matters ‘straight’, at least regarding the queerness of the relationship between the two halves of this continent? It truly does warm my heart when I watch Johnny and Gheorghe’s intimate journey towards their mutual home at the end of the film, but when I see a chance for ‘dialogic encounters’ and ‘a non-binary critical location – a space for inquiry that deconstructs the East-West divide while exploring and exploding its origins’ (Zaborowska et al. 2004: 25), my queer, sentimental, Eastern European heart is warmed even more.

Notes

- 1 ‘My country is dead’ – stated at one point by Gheorghe in *God’s Own Country* (01:12:02).
- 2 All translations from the original Hungarian are my own unless otherwise stated.
- 3 Christina Stojanova points out that ‘[t]he curve of the general attitude to the West during the protracted postcommunist transition to market economy and democracy – from euphoria to disappointment to rude awakening and depression – has been reflected succinctly in Eastern European films, dealing one way or another with immigration’ (Stojanova 2017: 17).